[p. 342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 Throughout infancy the health of the child
757 is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. Some [841] women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 simple amusements for themselves. They erect
[865] piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[114] [11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

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Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her.

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,